556 so openly about his own financial matters and property to the incessant
183
(123) questions which were thrown at him. They insisted that this would only lead to a multiplication of requests for gifts of money, clothes, food,
(251) and loans. Again, this is one of the reasons the Kanuri give for having both above and below ground storage pits for food crops. A household head is very reluctant to ever discuss exactly how many storage pits he has in his compound or how much of last year's crops remains uneaten. If this information can be obtained at all, much assurance has to be given that it is to be kept entirely confidential.

But the conflict over the proper consumption of wealth by self or others for status validation is not completely solved by covert
(152) savings. Since the values of the society are, to some extent, always the values of a majority of its individual members, this confict takes place both in the individual's social and his psychological life, and is in this writer's opinion, one of the main sources of anxiety among the individual members of Kanuri society.

Rural/Urban

369 Although rural or urban status can be changed by residence,
829 there is a differentiation, more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, between "bush" (rural) people and urban dwellers. City people feel themselves to be more "advanced" and sophisticated, better informed, and more socially mobile than the rural population whom the city dwellers consider to be ignorant, dirty and untrustworthy. The rural people make much less distinction between urban and rural residence, although they all know that there are many "wonderful" things in the city, such as the cinema, or the Maiduguri market where goods from all over the world are on sale daily. Another difference noticeable immediately to the

476 Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

• 251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

592 The net effect, productively, seems to be one of disunity since there are really three economic units within the one household. Cohesion is due to kinship and should trouble arise, legal, economic, or political, the unity within this compound, and with the others around it, to which its members are agnatically related, are observable immediately. Even the economic disunity is only partial, since Dolo often helps his older brother at the market, and both do farm work and run messages for their father.

241 [423] Ka'anami has a bush farm to the south of Magumeri village and three small plots in the nearby hamlet of Fèlongo where he used to live. His wife helps him to plant, hoe, and harvest the crop, as do [435] his brothers. In 1955 he harvested twelve bags of millet (cash value [432] £30/0/0) and four bags of groundnuts (cash value £11/0/0). Thus his [251] agricultural production totalled £41/0/0, one-quarter of which he sold for cash, and three-quarters of which he stored for consumption.

322 Many (but not all) of the men in Ka'anami's agnatic kinship group are calabash makers. This consists of buying dried, raw, half gourds, scraping the insides smooth, and carving designs on the [412] outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, wood-handled iron [372] blades, obtained from the blacksmith, and the only other material necessary is charcoal for the fire, which is extremely cheap.

322 433 During the dry season, Ka'anami makes on the average two calabashes per day on Fridays and Saturdays, and this ranges from one 443 to three, or on the average about four per week. Sunday he attends the Magumeri market and sells his wares. He buys his raw calabashes from the Thursday market (Ngubura) and does not work much on Monday, Tuesday or Wednesday, except to do commissions for people who give him special orders. He may also attend nearby markets on Monday or Tuesday